

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 063341  
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INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE 3730

S E C R E T STATE 063341

NODIS

FOL CAPE TOWN 0417 SENT ACTION SECSTATE MAR 10, 1978 REPEATED  
TO YOU  
QUOTE

S E C R E T CAPE TOWN 0417

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PINT, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CONVERSATION WITH HAROLD HAWKINS

FOL TEL, CAPE TOWN 0417, DTD MAR 3, 1978 AND SENT SECSTATE  
NIACT IMMEDIATE, BEING REPEATED TO YOU:

CAPE TOWN 0417

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

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TAGS: RH, PINT

SUBJ: RHODESIA - CONVERSATION WITH HAROLD HAWKINS

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME THIS MORNING TO TALK  
ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA. HE STARTED OFF BY DESCRIBING  
THE AGREEMENT WHICH WAS AT THAT MOMENT BEING  
SIGNED IN SALISBURY. (THE TEXT HE FURNISHED ME IS BEING

TRANSMITTED BY CAPE TOWN 416). HAWKINS CONCLUDED HIS PRESENTATION BY SAYING THAT WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK OF THE ARRANGEMENT IT IS A SINCERE EFFORT TO MOVE TOWARD BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN A GRADUAL WAY WHICH IS NOT DISRUPTIVE OF WHITE CONFIDENCE.

2. HAWKINS NEXT BROUGHT UP THE QUESTION OF NKOMO'S PARTICIPATION. THIS WAS PROBABLY THE MAIN REASON FOR HIS VISIT. HE NOTED THAT SEVERAL EFFORTS HAD BEEN MADE SINCE MALTA THROUGH FLOWERS AND ROBINSON TO PERSUADE NKOMO TO JOIN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS THE FIFTH MEMBER. HAWKINS SAID THAT WHILE NKOMO COULD NOT BE OFFERED THE PARAMOUNT POSITION HE WANTS, THERE WOULD BE A GOOD POSITION FOR HIM IN THE FINAL SETTLEMENT. MOST OF ALL HIS RETURN WOULD OFFER THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE POLITICAL DEALS WHICH COULD CARRY HIM TO THE TOP. I ASKED HAWKINS WHAT SUCCESS THEY HAD WITH THESE APPROACHES. HE ADMITTED THEY HAD ENCOUNTERED ONLY "OBSTINANCE" UNLESS THEY WERE WILLING TO TURN OVER THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT ON A SILVER PLATTER WHICH SMITH OBVIOUSLY WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO DO. HAWKINS WENT ON TO SAY THEY WERE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS AND HE HOPED THAT NOT ONLY WOULD HMG LEND A HAND BUT USG WOULD ALSO USE ITS INFLUENCE. BY WAY OF COMMENT I REVIEWED THE CONTENT OF THE DEPARTMENTS PRESS STATEMENT OF FEB 22, AND NOTED THE RISK OF ESCALATION IN THE FIGHTING, WITH THE INHERENT  
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DANGERS OF GREATER SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT, UNDER AN ARRANGEMENT THAT DID NOT INCLUDE OTHER NATIONALIST GROUPS. HAWKINS RESPONDED THAT PERHAPS SOME ADJUSTMENTS IN THE DIRECTION OF THE AAP MIGHT BE MADE, BUT HAVING LORD CARVER PLAY THE ROLE CONTEMPLATED IN THE AAP WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. HE OBSERVED THAT SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION OF THE ELECTIONS WAS HIGHLY DESIRABLE. HE DID NOT KNOW HOW THE TRANSITIONAL GOVT WOULD HANDLE THIS. INVITATIONS MIGHT BE SENT TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, SPECIFIC COUNTRIES OR INDIVIDUAL PERSONS. IN THIS CONTEXT HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE FACT THAT THE THREE BLACK LEADERS WERE IN FAVOR OF A REFERENDUM AMONG BLACK VOTERS ON THE PLAN IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE DEGREE INTERNAL SUPPORT. HE PERSONALLY REGARDED THIS AS UNNECESSARY SINCE THROUGH THE GENERAL ELECTION BLACK VOTERS COULD -- BY STAYING AWAY OR DEPOSITING BLANK BALLOTS -- EXPRESS THEIR VIEW.

3. COMMENT: AS OUR MEETING BROKE UP, HAWKINS MADE THE PERSONAL COMMENT THAT WHAT HAD BEEN SIGNED IN SALISBURY THIS MORNING COULD VERY QUICKLY COME TO NAUGHT IF ANY NUMBER OF SITUATIONS DEVELOP. I READ

THIS TO MEAN THAT HE RECOGNIZES THE FRAGILITY OF THE  
DEAL SO LONG AS THE PF AND FLP REMAIN UNITED AGAINST  
IT. THIS IS WHY SMITH IS SO ANXIOUS TO BRING NKOME  
INTO THE ARRANGEMENT. WITH NKOMO COLLABORATING, SMITH  
MUST CALCULATE THAT INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION  
WOULD BE ENHANCED AND THE RISKS OF CONTINUED OPPOSITION BY  
MUGABE AND OTHERS CORRESPONDINGLY REDUCED. THE SIGNING OF  
THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WOULD SEEM TO LIMIT THE CHANCES OF  
NKOMO COMING INTO THE PLAN BECAUSE HE MUST DO SO NOW AS  
A CO-EQUAL. BUT GIVEN HIS POTENTIAL AS THE CAPSTONE TO  
THE SUCCESS OF THE PLAN, IT IS STILL CONCEIVABLE THAT IF  
HE WERE WILLING TO OPT IN, HE COULD, WITH SMITH'S  
ASSISTANCE, WORK OUT A DEAL THAT WOULD GIVE HIM A  
GOOD SHOT AT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE INDEPENDENCE  
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GOVERNMENT.

4. DEPT PLEASE REPEAT THIS MESSAGE TO OTHER POSTS  
AS CONSIDERED NECESSARY. BOWDLER UNQUOTE  
VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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